

*The Barry Gray Show Evaluates Hoffa as Labor Leader, 1963*

*Oscar:* And now, ladies and gentlemen, it's time for Barry Gray.

*Barry Gray:* Thank you Oscar. Good evening everyone. Tonight I'm going to have the opportunity of talking about James Hoffa with two experts. Mr. Terry McShane, who served with the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1951 to 1960. He was in charge of the Hoffa investigation for the Federal Bureau of Investigation for four years, beginning in 1956. In April 1960, he was appointed to the three man board of monitors to supervise Hoffa, subsequently became chairman of the board. I'll be talking with Mr. Murray Baron, industrial relations consultant in the United States and abroad. He is the vice chairman of the Liberal Party of New York State. And now my guests, Mr. Terry McShane, formerly of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Mr. Murray Baron, industrial relations consultant, vice chairman of the Liberal Party of New York State. Gentlemen, I'm delighted that you could come here to tell me about this Hoffa story, and I advise you that you've got an easy track ahead because I don't know anything about Mr. Hoffa, except what I've read in the papers. Mr. McShane, suppose you begin, what kind of a man is he?

*Terry McShane:* Well, Mr. Hoffa is a very dynamic, aggressive, and not unintelligent man. He does a good job for his union in many ways. However, I don't feel he is a true representative of the labor leader today. I think some of the people that he has around him are hardly top drawer, and all in all, I think the best thing Jimmy Hoffa could do today would be to step down and leave the union. And I would guess that within 20 minutes, Barry, Murray, his union would be back in the AFL-CIO.

*Barry Gray:* Mr. Baron?

*Murray Baron:* The reference to Murray's union is intended, I believe, to mean my brother Sam. I'm not an objective evaluator of Jimmy Hoffa, since Jimmy Hoffa, not allegedly, I will affirm that Jimmy Hoffa assaulted and brutally beat my brother in May of 1962. I must say to my audience that my remarks might be somewhat discountable. However, my feeling is that James Riddle Hoffa, who is less of a riddle tonight than he was a few days ago, represents a blend of some of the most evil impulses in and outside the labor movement. Jimmy Hoffa's ethical code, or unethical code, views every human being with, with whom he has any business, or transaction, or relationship, as purchasable. His philosophy is that there is a price for everyone and he, Hoffa, has the ice for the price. He represents an accumulation of unprecedented power, economic and political. Blended together with this, is a ruthless determination, not only to consolidate his strength within the large Teamsters Union, but by maneuvers in future months and years, to possibly head the American labor movement. I view James Riddle Hoffa as a combined threat to the labor movement and to the United States itself.

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*Barry Gray:* What do you think gentlemen will be the effect of this conviction now? Mr. McShane?

*Terry McShane:* Well, I think Mr. Hoffa knows what's going on within the Teamsters Union right now. Don't forget, shortly after Dave Beck was convicted, Mr. Hoffa became the president of the Teamsters and he did it by a lot of backstage politics and Hoffa is smart enough to realize tonight that it is going on. I'm not saying that it's wide open and perhaps that well planned, but Mr. Hoffa's concern is to his job.

*Barry Gray:* It's Victor [*unintelligible*], who today in the *New York Journal-American* says, and I quote, first paragraph: "These kids are being greased today to dump James R. Hoffa from the presidency of the Teamsters Union. It's just a matter of time. Since his conviction on jury tampering charges, the anti-Hoffa coalition within the union has been on the phone, mapping the strategy for his ouster." What do you think are the steps that are going to take place?

*Terry McShane:* Well, Harold Gibbons tonight made the statement that there is no vacancy in the Teamster's presidency. However, I think the appeals will be a little more rapidly than have been predicted. I think it will be over within the year. And I think you'll see people like Mr. O'Rourke, or Sandy O'Brien in Chicago, and [*unintelligible*] out on the West Coast, I think you'll see something from them in the near future.

*Barry Gray:* What did you uncover Mr. McShane, if I could ask you, if it's public information, during that four year investigation that could be used against Hoffa?

*Terry McShane:* Well, Murray and I were talking outside before we went on the show. Senator McClellan came up with a very, very germane remark the other day when he said, "I wonder if this has been a pattern, this tampering with juries," and my thoughts went back to the 1958 wiretap trial when the jury was voting eleven to one for conviction. And to my mind at the time, and to my mind today, it has never been properly resolved as to why that one juror held out for an acquittal.

*Barry Gray:* Was that a deadlock jury?

*Terry McShane:* That was a hung jury.

*Barry Gray:* I see. And what was the, what was the result? Was there another trial? As I say, I'm not an expert...

*Terry McShane:* Yes, there was a second trial where he was acquitted.

*Barry Gray:* I see. And so I assume that you have strong suspicion?

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*Terry McShane:* Well, insofar as the tampering with the jury, yes.

*Barry Gray:* There's no way, of course, under our, our system of justice to ever revise these and to look again at these charges?

*Terry McShane:* At the charges, no, but at the charges of tampering with the jury, yes.

*Barry Gray:* Because of course he was not charged with tampering with the jury in that, that particular trial?

*Terry McShane:* That is correct.

*Barry Gray:* And so as a result of this conviction, the government may take another look at some of the preceding trials, and may bring additional charges.

*Terry McShane:* I would imagine that Senator McClellan may have something like that in mind.

*Murray Baron:* Terry and I also discussed the, an aspect of the conviction of Jimmy which has been overlooked, we think. That is that the national trial, the jury of which was the victim of this jury tampering, may now be reopened. Now I have no official information or otherwise, but we must remember that now that he's convicted of a charge of tampering with an earlier jury, the original Landrum-Griffin indictment involving an alleged payoff may again be reopened, and that together with the pending Chicago indictment, indicates that in any event, Jimmy Hoffa has every reason to look forward to a good career in legal training. He's going to spend a long time in the courts of our land.

*Barry Gray:* That's my impression and feeling. Of course there are many precedents. We've had so many of them in American jurisprudence. I mean a relationship, but Al Capone is a fairly good example. People wonder for years why it takes so long and then suddenly there is a conviction and then one follows another and the house of cards begins to fall and the end result usually inevitable. I agree with you that Mr. Hoffa is going to be in courtrooms, if not in jails, for a very long time to come. Mr. Hoffa has attempted to make this out as a personal vendetta by Attorney General Bobby Kennedy. What's your reaction to that Mr. McShane?

*Terry McShane:* Well, I'll say right now, there never has been a vendetta. Mr. Kennedy was merely doing his job as counsel to the Senate committee investigating Mr. Hoffa. Again, he was currently doing his job as the Attorney General. He's charged with the duties. He's got to do them. I think a great thing has been built up about this, and for the years that I was connected with it, it was, I couldn't describe it at all as a personal vendetta.

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*Barry Gray:* Mr. Baron?

*Murray Baron:* It's worth noting that several of the earlier indictments were voted during an administration other than the Kennedy administration, so that you can't charge Bob Kennedy with pursuing a vendetta. I might say very quickly in passing that a perspective ought to be restored regarding the Teamsters International Union. The union is largely led at the lower, middle, and somewhat at the upper levels by men of outstanding integrity and ability.

*Terry McShane:* I was about to comment that. I...

*Murray Baron:* Jimmy Hoffa, Jimmy Hoffa has defamed, by his activities and attitudes and codes, has defamed many innocent victims who hold positions in the Teamsters Union. And if I can add a kind of control conjecture, I would say that there is the possibility of a conjunction of forces within the Teamsters. Some of it amongst the rank and file, a good deal of it in the middle level of the officialdom, and also a substantial number of powerful figures up on top, who ought to be able to view Hoffa now as expendable. I think you have here an attempt by James Hoffa to reverse, or to, or to modify very seriously, the traditional autonomies of the Teamsters Union back in the days of Tobin, the earlier late president of the Teamsters. And what Jimmy Hoffa has a say to do, is to bring into Washington and under his control the pension and welfare reserve funds, a national contract as a vehicle for controlling the regions and the locals. A national centralization of this largest union of America and this attempt, nearly successful, I think I can say with some authority, has antagonized some very powerful elements in the Teamsters. The conjunction of all of these elements ought to expedite Jimmy Hoffa's early retirement.

*Barry Gray:* What's your measure, gentlemen, of Mr. Harold Gibbons?

*Terry McShane:* Well, Gibbons has been held up by many as the next president of the Teamsters. I don't buy the story. First of all, he's an old AF, he's an old CIO man, and this doesn't sit well with the predominant AFL feeling within the Teamsters. And Gibbons has, Gibbons was Hoffa's his right hand man, Murray as you know, in bringing this centralized power to Washington. Heretofore the Teamsters existed in New York, in Boston. Nick Morrissey in Boston. John O'Rourke in New York. O'Brien and Lee in Chicago. Hoffa has changed the whole concept, and this is what a lot of good, honest Teamsters object to, object to. He's not teamster. He's not teamster. I heard that so many times when I was on the board of monitors. Honest guys, hardworking guys out in the West Coast, don't judge us, don't judge our families, and see what you can do to have America stop judging us by Mr. Hoffa.

*Barry Gray:* Mr. Baron?

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*Murray Baron:*

I think Terry has very clearly described a phase of Harold Gibbons. Both my brother Sam and I are somewhat loathe to talk about Harold Gibbons because we go back a lifetime with Harold Gibbons. I've known Harold Gibbons, I should judge, for over 30 years. Harold Gibbons I think attempted to retain the alleged virtues of James Hoffa, namely his ability to organize, his excellence as a negotiator. Combined, these virtues of Jimmy Hoffa, with a modicum of decent comportment and public behavior, and Harold was ambitious in the sense of, I suppose Pygmalion like plot, to have Hoffa emerge as a respected leader of the American labor movement. My suspicion is that Jimmy Hoffa, in turn, accepted the companionship of this disparate and incongruous associate, who was an intellectual of parts, and Jimmy Hoffa must have been ambitious to in turn, capture from Harold Gibbons his virtues and blend them with the ruthlessness and cynicism of James Hoffa. As to who won, I'll leave the audience to judge.

*Barry Gray:*

Mr. Gibbons has been here recently. He came here to talk during the period of the telephone union Teamster's attempts to disagree with each other and organize the telephone workers. I must confess that his background and his presence were most impressive. The most literate and well meaning, obviously well meaning, individual, and I was...

*Murray Baron:*

Barry, can I just break in to say...

*Barry Gray:*

Yes.

*Murray Baron:*

...in joining with you on that. In Harold Gibbons, I hope we don't have a final tragedy. Harold is a man of great ability, great charm, intelligence, and I think I can say that he is not to be classified precisely with James R. Hoffa. We're discussing two different personalities.

*Barry Gray:*

Exactly, but the thing that has always troubled me, and I think troubled most of the people of America who are outside the Teamster pail, is how Hoffa has managed to retain control in spite of all of the things that he's done and said through the years. Mr. McShane talks about these decent men with families, et cetera. This is one side and on the other side the picture of, as you've put it, a ruthless and domineering individual, who obviously has had to go to his union for direction and votes. How's he managed this?

*Terry McShane:*

Murray, you put your hand on something the, the pension fund. This is a fine way of controlling the votes of the delegates to the National Convention. Mr. Hoffa controls that pension fund, number one, and this didn't happen overnight. Don't forget, Hoffa has a staff of some 400 lawyers at his beckon call, and he becks and he calls them. This is

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a, this has taken several years, and there has been a big fight against it, but through his ability to make deals, Hoffa has prevailed. I think that has all gone by the boards now. We're in for a new look at the Teamsters.

*Barry Gray:* Do you have no idea of who will be the new boss? Do you think Gibbons might be apart from what Mr. McShane said, Mr. Baron?

*Murray Baron:* No, I go along again with Terry. We haven't rehearsed this at all. I don't think Harold is destined to head the union. What you may get is a product of coalitions, not singular, but plural, and it's hard to determine who the president will be. But I think I can make a cautious prediction that whoever succeeds James Hoffa will, on the one hand, not aspire to continue the centralization that Hoffa is seeking, and two, will be closer to the Tobin tradition than he will be to the Hoffa tradition, and that is to permit the semi autonomies of locals and regional and district councils to continue. I have a feeling too that the national contract might conceivably, I'm not certain, prove to be less than it is now, as a result of a new administration. The national contract is viewed in many powerful areas of the Teamsters as a threat to the historic autonomy of their areas.

*Barry Gray:* Can you tell me what the upshot of the to do between your brother and Hoffa was? I don't recall.

*Murray Baron:* Well, I will, I will affirm, not allege, I will affirm that my brother Sam was innocently, and without provocation, assaulted by Jimmy Hoffa, a man of 178 to 180 pounds. My brother, a man of 60, at that time 59, an ailing man weighing in the neighborhood of 145 pounds. My brother Sam was one of the very few high officials of the Teamsters who refused to join the so-called "Hoffa Caucus" years before the assault. On the morning of the assault, without any provocation, I repeat, Jimmy Hoffa brutally beat my brother up. Six witnesses were present, all on the payroll of Jimmy Hoffa. And the six witnesses affirmed that Sam Baron, my brother, walked into Jimmy Hoffa's office in the Washington headquarters and beat Jimmy Hoffa up, and that Hoffa pathetically in self-defense had to inflict some discomfiture on my brother. The inability of Sam to get a single one of these witnesses, including one or two of them who were close friends of my brother, to confirm Sam's allegation, compelled the government to withdraw the charge. My brother Sam is out of the union. Had extreme difficulty, Terry you'll be interested, in receiving his pension as an officer of this union. Had to go through an awful lot of trouble to get it and has not had full time employment since. However my, my brother has been interested in the fate of James R. Hoffa, to put it mildly.

*Barry Gray:* Ladies and gentlemen, I'm talking with Mr. Murray Baron, industrial relations consultant in the United States and abroad, Vice Chairman of

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the Liberal Party of New York State, and Mr. Terry McShane, formerly with the FBI for nine years, in charge of the Hoffa investigation for the Bureau from 1956 through 1960. In April of 1960, he was appointed to the three man board of monitors to supervise Hoffa. Subsequently, he became chairman of that board. On Radio WMCA and Armed Forces Radio worldwide, our program continues after the news and a word from a sponsor. My guests, Mr. Murray Baron, Vice Chairman Liberal Party of New York State. Mr. Terry McShane, with the FBI for a period of nine years and served as the chairman of the board of monitors which supervised Hoffa. And Mr. McShane, I wonder if you could straighten that out for me. What was the board of monitors?

*Terry McShane:*

In 1957, a group of Teamsters here in New York alleged that Mister Hoffa rigged the election that made him the general president of the union. This resulted in a court case in Washington, DC. The case came to an impasse, and as a result you had a three man board of monitors, agreed to by both sides, both by Hoffa and the rank and file fellows who were suing him, and this board was to work with Hoffa to straighten out the alleged corruption within the union. I joined the board when I resigned from the FBI in 1960. Mr. Hoffa, of course, objected to my being on the board, and as a result of some litigation, I was subsequently removed from the board, as being allegedly prejudice against Hoffa. Shortly thereafter, Judge Letz, who was the supervising judge, appointed me as the chairman of the board. And Mr. Hoffa is not a dumb fellow at all. He realized that the board was starting to do its job and we were getting at some of the people that he wanted to keep around. So he involved in one of his best abilities, namely litigious obstruction. I recall an instance, we were conducting some hearings up in Providence, Rhode Island, and before the hearing was 10 minutes old, I think we had two or three warrants served on us. We wound up in court. Of course we straightened it out, but Mr. Hoffa is a great man for the use of the courts and perhaps he's had his day.

*Murray Baron:*

Use and abuse of the courts.

*Barry Gray:*

Mr. Baron?

*Murray Baron:*

The work of Terry McShane and his associates in those critical periods, I think I can say, proved to be quite helpful in later developments involving James Hoffa. So to Terry, I want to say belatedly thank you for a good deal that you did in those years.

*Barry Gray:*

I just want to keep you here for just one minute more. I want to... It's very rarely that we meet a live, former or present, FBI man on the air, for that matter anywhere. It's interesting that he should be named Terry McShane and look like what our mental picture is of the FBI

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type. Mr. McShane, why does one leave the FBI? It seems to me you have to go through an awful lot to get in.

*Terry McShane:*

That's a good question. Perhaps I should pass it right back to you. Actually, it was an opportunity, I thought, to do a service to the labor movement of this country. When I was asked to take the job as a member of the board, I was, I had some thoughts to be honest, but I felt there was an obligation. I had the knowledge to perhaps do the job, so this resulted in my resignation and joining the board.

*Barry Gray:*

Mr. McShane, I thank you very much. I thank you, Mr. Baron. I've just been told that Mr. Baron has to catch a train, so I guess our discussion is over.

*Murray Baron:*

It's the last train.

*Barry Gray:*

The last train?

*Murray Baron:*

The last train.

*Barry Gray:*

Sounds like the title from a mystery novel.

*Murray Baron:*

It'll be in no movies.

[Laughter]

Thanks a lot.

*Barry Gray:*

Thank you very much. And Mr. McShane, I hope now that we've broken the ice, you'll come back again and again on other stories. I look forward to it.

*Terry McShane:*

Thank you again.

*Barry Gray:*

Good luck to you. Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Terry McShane, who served with the FBI from 1951 to 1960. He was in charge of the Hoffa investigation for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1956 to 1960, and in April 1960 was appointed to the three man board of monitors to supervise Hoffa, and as you've heard, was subsequently appointed the chairman of the board. And Mr. Murray Baron, who is a very distinguished man, as Mr. McShane is. Mr. Baron, as you hear, has a delightful personality, industrial relations consultant in the United States and abroad, vice chairman of the Liberal Party of New York State. You know, rarely we want the opportunity to have a television camera turned on the program. Well, I shouldn't say that very often, but there's sometimes where you want it more than others. I wish we'd had one tonight, because McShane looks like, and I hope he doesn't mind this. I guess he's at the elevator by

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now. McShane looks, I'm sure, just as though Hollywood had cast him for the role. How tall would you say he is Marilyn? About 6'3? About 205? Not quite a crew cut. Very attractive man. Obviously, most athletic. Broad shouldered. Quick smile. Wonderful attractive Irish face. Well, that's the type. Sign him. We've got a seven picture deal. He looks perfect for the part. Otto Preminger I'm sure would have him up against the wall right now with the contract under his nose.